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789 There are many other specialized techniques, but for our purposes it will suffice to refer briefly to love-magic. Love-medicine was not known to the Lovedu, and its use is generally said by the older people to be witchcraft. Nevertheless, this magic, introduced from the towns, where, especially among Zulu and Xhosa, it is common, is used by many young men in Vulovedu to-day. One method, scarification of the forehead or use of medicine in your snuff, makes all the girls love you; blowing a medicated pipe of the *mukhure* shrub (*Ricinus sp.*) morning and evening, while calling the name of a certain girl, will make her come to you soon; and there are various other medicines. Love-magic to cause hysteria in girls is known as a Zulu practice, but is not used in Vulovedu. It would be looked upon as witchcraft.

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761 These borderline methods, sometimes called witchcraft, sometimes not, and often referred to as 'good' *vulzi*, bring us to a consideration of what constitutes *vulzi*. All witchcraft is socially disapproved, anti-social, but this criterion is not always sufficient to distinguish between witchcraft proper and practices bordering on witchcraft. Swearing at people, or scolding them violently, when the cause hardly justifies it, is liable to call down upon them forces which lead to death or misfortune to them or their family. It is called *lesola* and is reprehensible; but it is not *vulzi*; nor is *mahava*, illness caused by the ill-feeling of a father's sister or other relative. The conduct of a woman who, having had an abortion, causes her husband's death through neglecting to give him the medicine necessary to ward off such disaster is strongly disapproved of, but it is not witchcraft, even though it causes death.

Since many borderline practices are judged by their result and become witchcraft when they cause death, it might be argued that this criterion must be distinctive. It is, however, not enough; causing death to a husband by abortion is, as we have seen, not considered to be witchcraft, nor is the murderous *khigevetwa* a witch, even though he secretly kills people at night and sells parts of their body to doctors. Furthermore, many accusations of witchcraft have arisen where there has been no death, but only sickness or loss by lightning. The only difference between the killing by a *khigevetwa* and that by a witch lies in the method employed. The killer uses ordinary weapons; the witch kills by means of medicine or some peculiar powers not known to ordinary people. The distinguishing feature of all cases of witchcraft is the use or supposed use of medicine or witch-power. Intent is another feature by which one judges an action. Where a woman causes the death of a husband through abortion, her conduct is anti-social and the act is done in secret, but it differs from witchcraft proper in the absence of intent to kill. Fear of the consequences of adultery is the main force deterring her from correct behaviour; and it is argued that if she really wishes to kill she need not employ so roundabout a method.

754 The conclusion we may draw is that, for an action to be witchcraft, it must satisfy, not one, but all the following three requirements: it must be disapproved of, anti-social; there must be an intent to kill or to harm; and it must be thought that either medicine or the mysterious forces of night-witchcraft have been used. Secrecy is not peculiar to witchcraft; it is

WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY

269

bones, her husband chased her away. A person with an unpleasant face very often earns the reputation of being a witch, even though nothing has been definitely attributed to him. A very old person, too, is apt to be thought a witch; his long life is attributed to his bartering the lives of younger relatives for his own. Just as people with grievances are suspected of witchcraft, so successful ones are thought to be specially liable to being bewitched—those who reap better crops than others, successful hunters, those favoured by their European masters. On the other hand, their success is also liable to be attributed to witchcraft on their part. 754
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It has been said that witchcraft is a reflection of the intense hatreds of which the Bantu mind is capable. True, the European is appalled at the seriousness of the crimes attributed to witches for the most trivial reasons. The mother's brother's wife kills the child of her husband's sister who is living with them because he eats too much: 'he finishes our corn'; because a woman no longer loves him, a man not only causes intense suffering to her during a prolonged birth, but also kills the child; jealous of the large crop reaped by his neighbour, a man sends lightning to destroy his whole harvest. These things do not, however, present themselves in this way to the mind of the Lovedu. A Lovedu argues, not from real cause to effect in such matters, but from effect to cause, which makes it all appear in a somewhat different light. A child dies and he looks around him for a possible cause. He thinks of possible motives and enemies, but can find none. He consults the dice, which point to a woman of such-and-such a totem. The only one to answer this description is the mother's brother's wife. She happens to be known as ungenerous, perhaps she was one day heard to comment on having an extra mouth to feed. The misfortune is thus projected upon her: but it is not a psychopathic, it is an approved cultural escape technique or compensation. In cases of illness or death, people tend to seek the cause in the direction of traditional jealousies. A wife of the queen dies in childbirth. The cause cannot be a jilted lover, because she and the father of the child were on the best of terms. But he is a married man, and women are known through jealousy to cause difficult childbirth to the lovers of husbands. The death must have been caused by his wife (even though she lives miles away). Nothing is done in the matter; moreover, there is no general agreement in the verdicts of different doctors. Six months later a young girl in the village dies suddenly of blood poisoning; her mother is known to have had quarrels with the deceased wife of the queen. It is therefore generally rumoured that the grave must have been treated to 'send back' death and the death of the child indicates that her mother was the witch responsible. Nothing more is said of the lover's wife.

Witchcraft provides an explanation of the worst evils, such as sickness and death, that befall man; it is the principle of evil, the Bantu Satan. Illness caused naturally or by ancestors is generally curable; it is only witchcraft that really kills. It was at first a source of great amazement to us that a man could find it possible to live on socially good terms with some one who had killed his father, attending the same beer-parties and able to converse in friendly fashion. But unless the case has been publicly dealt with and the witch smelt out, the evidence is considered incomplete, 754
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754 in spite of one's own convictions. Moreover, it does not follow that
 761 the witch has any evil designs upon one, though he has killed some
 777 one else. Personal adjustments with the witch are more easily achieved
 than we might imagine; they are even imperative, partly because witch-
 craft is so universal a cause of death that in this respect the witch is
 almost part of the inevitable order of things, partly because, unless a con-
 firmed witch, he is not regarded with horror by the whole society, and
 partly because he may be an influential and respected man.

Witchcraft serves also to explain the differential incidence of misfor-
 tune or death which we generally leave unexplained; but it is not often
 invoked in this respect. An old, dried-up tree stands in a field. People
 often rest beneath it at hoeing time. One day, while two children are
 sitting in its shade, it falls down and kills one of them. The Lovedu
 realize that dead trees are liable to fall down. But it has long been stand-
 ing there. Why has it fallen just on that day and, moreover, at that par-
 ticular time when the children were there? Further, what made it kill
 one, leaving the other unhurt? This combination of circumstances must,
 they feel, be due to some malignant controlling force directed against the
 child. Or, when people recover from a disease such as smallpox in one
 district, but succumb to it in another, the differential effect in the latter
 is ascribed to the work of a witch. The occasion for evoking witchcraft
 as an explanation in certain circumstances is an aspect of witchcraft, but
 it is not an explanation of its nature and psychological basis and only part
 of the explanation of its function.

754 Witchcraft is employed to account for unusual or anti-social behaviour.
 828 Hysteria might be attributed either to witchcraft or possession. A girl
 ran away from her own puberty ceremony, an unheard-of and reprehens-
 ible action. Her relatives said she must have been bewitched into doing
 it, so, instead of being punished, she was given treatment to remove the
 baleful influence. Attributing certain types of anti-social action or the
 breaking of some customs to witchcraft makes it possible for the society to
 withstand successfully many blows; an issue is avoided and the transgressor
 made to feel himself incapable of such actions but for the witchcraft. We
 must also remember that abnormalities need not necessarily evoke com-
 ment. A person may be born an imbecile, but it may be considered quite
 normal. This is so because there is a place in the society for the weak-
 minded, sometimes even as jesters of the court. Personal defects or
 limitations do not, to the same extent as among us, disable a man from
 performance markedly below the standards required in spheres in which
 he can be useful; and thus there need not arise an intolerable situation
 from which escape is sought by psycho-pathological devices or the projec-
 tion of one's misfortune as witchcraft upon others. Finally, to attribute
 death to witchcraft, and to set about taking steps to send it back to its owner,
 probably provides greater emotional satisfaction to the bereaved than the
 feeling of impotence in the face of an uncontrollable, natural force. The
 same kind of emotional need is answered when a man with a grievance
 feels that he can, in the last resort, employ medicine to gain his ends,
 and people not infrequently indirectly hint to their enemies the possibility
 of their doing so.

171 The *gomana* drums are no longer used by the queen to appeal to the
 778 ancestors for rain, but she permits boys from the royal village to attend
 821 *gomana* initiation ceremonies held occasionally, with her permission, by an
 outsider. The *gomana* concept, despite the support it gives to the mystical
 attributes of the queen, appears to represent a conceptual pattern that is
 autonomous and more fully developed in some neighbouring tribes, where
 the moments of the agricultural year were signalized by the sounding of the
 drums which were thought to bring rain and fertility, to bless the crops and
 cattle, and to safeguard the country from disease and enemies. In some
 tribes today the cult is a recent innovation in the form of initiation schools
 managed by outsiders who have their own drums and *avidajani* visitors
 from tribes where the cult is better known.

Evil and how to avoid it

761 It has been shown that the Lovedu conceive the order of nature as
 772 something essentially man-controlled through the power of medicine and
 821 magic (*vunaga*), through the ancestors, through the divinity and powers of
 the queen, and through the mysterious forces associated with *digema*. The
 seasons and the rain have to be established by the queen for the crops to
 prosper; the baby 'grows by medicines' which guard it from harm and
 sickness and imbue it with health and strength; adulthood is achieved
 through initiations and *digema*; and over and above all, there is the watchful
 care of the gods. The natural order accordingly can and must be manipu-
 lated by utilizing benevolent and nullifying malignant forces, in order to
 further man's good fortune or to prevent evil from befalling him.

772 The Lovedu have elaborated some interesting concepts of impersonal
 811 evil powers which are concentrations of forces brought about by certain
 821 concatenations of conditions or events. These concepts are found over a
 much wider area, but have received special emphasis among the Lovedu.
 To them the ultimate good is rain. Rain is regarded as not merely the
 material source of life and happiness and the physical basis of man's sense
 of security; it is also a symbol of spiritual well-being and a manifestation
 that the social order is operating smoothly. Hence coolness denotes a state
 of euphoria: man and matter to be in order and to function properly have
 to be kept cool; angry ancestors must be cooled by means of medicine; even
 witches can be cooled and so made to forget their evil purposes. On the
 other hand, heat as the antithesis of the main basis of man's security, the
 cooling, life-giving rain, is conceived as a destructive force leading to a
 state of dysphoria.

753 'Heat' is a concept suggested by the physical properties of heat; it may
 772 sometimes be sensed, for example, as an important factor in fever, one of
 811 the most prevalent illnesses. But actually its operation is inferred from con-
 821 ditions of which 'heat' is clearly the cause, such as droughts and the desic-
 cation of the crops. Here the generation of heat is ascribed to the effect upon
 the earth of disturbances of the regular course of nature by the burial in it

[18] attached to possession and no socio-economic stratification of classes; for a great man, whether he be poor or rich, is first and foremost a royal relative, and the purpose of economic activities is self-sufficiency and independence. Trade is disliked and competition is absent even in craftsmanship. So marked is the disinclination to make comparisons that it is difficult to obtain any expression of opinion concerning the relative merits of things that Europeans quite naturally compare, such as the achievements of individuals or objects of craftsmanship.

Children are taught 'to be like others', not to strive to outdo them and precociousness is disliked. A child asking for sweets often says 'Give me also', even if no one else has been given any on that occasion. He begs for what others may receive, not a special advantage for himself. When favours are asked from the ancestors the prayer is quite often phrased, 'Give us also', or 'Let him have health like others'. To stress, before the ancestors, a desire for personal achievement in competition with or greater than that of others would be improper. Contrast with this the opportunities for and love of competition in Zulu society where every boy is constantly measuring himself against others, vying with them in fights, in dress, in love-making, in dancing, for leadership and praise.

The give and take, absence of competitiveness, and lack of force in the social and political structure, make moderation the keynote of Lovedu social life. Outstanding individuals are not tolerated: a show of forcefulness on the part of a councillor one day, which appealed to us as an indication of efficiency unusual in the society, was apologized for with the excuse that he must have been drunk. Display of all kinds is disliked. The elaborate beadwork and interest in dress, so characteristic of the Zulu, are absent, and there is nothing to correspond to the institutionalized public boasting (*ukugiya*)—jumping and stabbing at an imaginary foe to the accompaniment of a string of praises—that plays so important a role in Zulu life.

Excess of every kind is deprecated. Speed is undignified. Things must be done *ga vanya*, slowly, at a regular pace, in a moderate and dignified manner. Excess in human relations, like heat in the cosmic order, is liable to bring disaster. The reaction to death is calm, quiet grief, not the funeral wail of the Nguni or the terror reaction of the Tsonga. Too much weeping by a mother is believed to call down evil upon the next child born to her. Mputa was born a cripple, because, so we were told, his mother, Makwadu, wept bitterly at the death of her first son. Even in scolding moderation has to be observed, for scolding out of proportion to the offence, can, as we have shown, bring evil, even death.

[78] Quarrelsomeness is one of the worst offences. Congruent with this outlook, the murderer or the warrior who has killed an enemy must purify himself to avoid becoming quarrelsome, the threat of which is so unpalatable as to be a powerful sanction. But quarrels and conflicts do occur on account of temperamental qualities, conflicting interests, and other causes; they are also precipitated sometimes through imperfections in the social